

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 USIA-15 PRS-01

DRC-01 NIC-01 EB-11 OMB-01 SAJ-01 /112 W

----- 022626

R 161710Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8067

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 2887

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PINT DA

SUBJ: FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS NO. 5 - ISSUES

REF: COPENHAGEN 2793, 2806, 2817, 2858

SUMMARY: DANISH DECEMBER 4 ELECTION IS SHAPING UP AS BASICALLY A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION. ONLY MAJOR ISSUE IS THAT OF HIGH TAXES, ON WHICH NONE OF OLD-LINE PARTIES CAN CAPITALIZE. CONSEQUENTLY, SHIFT AWAY FROM "RADICALISM" OF ANKER JORGENSEN'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVT TENDS TO FAVOR NEW POPULIST PARTIES OF GILSTRUP AND ERHARD JAKOBSEN RATHER THAN ESTABLISHED BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION BLOC.

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END SUMMARY.

1. FORTHCOMING ELECTION IS FORMING UP AS ONE OF PROTEST RATHER THAN OF ISSUES. CURRENT DIVISION OF FOLKETING INTO SOCIALIST BLOC (SOCIAL DEMOCRATS-S AND FAR-LEFT SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY -SF), TIGHTLY DEFENDING A ONE-VOTE MARGIN OVER BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION BLOC (RADICAL LIBERALS-R, MODERATE LIBERALS-V, AND CONSERVATIVES-K), TENDED TO POLARIZE AND IMMOBILIZE POLITICAL SITUATION. DEPENDENCE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVT ON SF PARLIAMENTARY SUPPORT RESULTED, MOREOVER, IN MORE RADICAL POLICY THAN THE COUNTRY WOULD STAND FOR ANY EXTENDED PERIOD. CONSEQUENTLY, MOOD OF PROTEST AGAINST OBSTRUCTIONISM IN PARLIAMENT AND "RADICALISM" IN GOVT IS MOST PERVASIVE ELEMENT IN THE ELECTION, AND WILL STRIKE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AS ITS PRIMARY VICTIM. ALTHOUGH LEFTIST SF COULD MAINTAIN OR IMPROVE ON ITS CURRENT 17 SEATS IN PARLIAMENT, IT WILL HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE WHEN NEW GOVT IS FORMED.

2. SURPRISING ELEMENT THUS FAR IS THAT, CONTRARY TO EXPECTATIONS OF VKR OPPOSITION PARTIES, PROTEST SENTIMENT IS NOT SHIFTING IN THEIR FAVOR. IT TENDS INSTEAD TO BENEFIT TWO NEW POPULIST PARTIES- THAT OF MOGENS GLISTRUP (PROGRESSIVE PARTY-P) ON THE BOURGEOIS SIDE, AND OF ERHARD JAKOBSEN (CENTER DEMOCRATS-CD) ON THE SOCIALIST SIDE. RECENT BORSER POLL TAKEN NOVEMBER 4-7 HAS FOLLOWING BREAK-DOWN (FIGURES IN PARENTHESES ARE FROM SEPTEMBER 1971 ELECTION):

	PERCENT	SUPPORT	SEATS
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS	26.2	(37.3)	46 (70)
RADICAL LIBERALS	11.3	(14.4)	20 (27)
CONSERVATIVES	13.5	(16.7)	23 (31)
MODERATE LIBERALS	12.3	(15.6)	21 (30)
SOCIALIST PEOPLES	9.5	(9.1)	17 (17)
OTHER PARTIES	6.1	(6.9)	11 --
PROGRESSIVE PARTY	10.2	--	18 --
CENTER DEMOCRATS	10.9	--	19 --

3. ANTI-TAXES. IN LINE WITH THIS GENERAL PROTEST MOVEMENT, MAJOR ISSUE OF ELECTION IS THE GOVT'S INABILITY TO REDUCE BURDEN OF ONE OF EUROPE'S HIGHEST TAX PERCENTAGES. ALTHOUGH THIS PRIMARILY HURTS RULING SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THEY HAVE LATELY POINTED OUT SUCCESSFULLY THAT TAXES INCREASED MORE RAPIDLY DURING PREVIOUS VKR GOVT, UNDER HILMAR BAUNSGAARD, THAN UNDER SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVTS BEFORE OR AFTER. THUS TAX ISSUE TENDS TO REINFORCE ELECTORATE'S

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DISTATES FOR OLD-LINE PARTIES IN GENERAL AND IS BEING THOROUGHLY EXPLOITED BY GLISTRUP WHOSE ENTIRE CAMPAIGN IS BASED ON THIS SINGLE ISSUE, AND BY CD WHICH MORE NARROWLY FOCUSES ITS APPEAL ON TAX REDUCTIONS FOR PRIVATE HOME OWNERS.

4. EC. ONLY SF AND, OF COURSE, DANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (DKP) HAVE MADE DANISH MEMBERSHIP IN COMMON MARKET A MAJOR ISSUE. BY TYING THIS ISSUE TO THAT OF HIGH TAXES -WHICH ARE BLAMED ON DENMARK'S

EC MEMBERSHIP -SF MAY WELL WIN SOME GROUND FROM SDP LEFT-WING.  
RECENT POLL REVEALED THAT FOR FIRST TIME SINCE OCTOBER 1972  
REFERNDUM, ANTI-EC SENTIMENT WAS IN SLIGHT MAJORITY (43-42 PERCENT).

5. ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY. ED IS BASICALLY NEGATIVE ISSUE, A SYMBOL,  
ALONG WITH HIPPIY HAVEN CHRISTIANIA AND PORNOGRAPHIC JESUS FILM,  
OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVT'S RADICALISM. AS HALLMARK OF LEFT-WING  
SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, ESPECIALLY PRIMIN JORGENSEN AND FINMIN HENRY GRUN-  
BAUM, IT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO SDP DIFFICULTIES. MOST PARTIES DOWN-  
PLAY THIS ISSUE, HOWEVER, BECAUSE THERE IS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT FOR  
GENERAL ED CONCEPT IN ALL OF THEM- PARTICULARLY AMONG YOUTH  
GROUPS- TO MAKE IT INTERNALLY DIVISIVE MATTER.

6. NATO: NOT AN ISSUE, EXCEPT AS TRADITIONAL HOBBY-HORSE OF SF  
AND DKP (GLISTRUP'S ANTI-DEFENSE AND ANTI-NATO STAND IS NOT TAKEN  
SERIOUSLY.) WITH DEFENSE COMPROMISE SAFELY ADOPTED AND IN FORCE,  
NONE OF THE MAJOR PARTIES WISH TO DISTURB THESE WATERS.

7. IN ABSENCE OF ANY CLEAR PROFILE ISSUES, THE MAJOR PARTIES ARE  
FALLING BACK ON THE "COALITION GAME" - THE TACTIC OF ANNOUNCING  
WHICH PARTIES THEY WOULD COOPERATE WITH IN POST-ELECTION GOVT.  
HOWEVER, SINCE THE NATURAL ALLIANCES S-SF AND VKR CAN, ACCORDING TO  
POLL IN PARA (2) ABOVE, MUSTER RESPECTIVELY NO MORE THAN 35.7 AND  
37.1 PERCENT OF TOTAL VOTE, THIS GAME CONTRIBUTES MERELY TO ACCENTU-  
ATING OLD-LINE PARTIES DIFFICULTIES. BAUNSGAARD THEREFORE IS  
SUGGESTING  
BROAD S-VKR COALITION WHILE ERHARD JAKOBSEN ALTERNATIVELY IS  
ADVOCATING S-VK COALITION, PLUS POSSIBLY HIS OWN CD. ONLY SIGNI-  
FICANT CONCLUSION THAT CAN BE DRAWN AT PRESENT FROM THE MANY POSSIBLE  
COALITIONS IS THAT ANY POST-ELECTION GOVT COALITION WILL HAVE TO  
BRIDGE THE SOCIALIST-NON-SOCIALIST CENTER LINE, IF IT IS TO ATTAIN  
A MAJORITY.

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## Message Attributes

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